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4:38 P.M.

FROM: BONN

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1141, NOVEMBER 28, 8 P.M.

SENT DEPARTMENT 1141, USAREUR HEIDELBERG 262, REPEATED
 INFORMATION BERLIN 318, MOSCOW 129, LONDON 227, PARIS 325.

PARIS FOR EMBASSY, USRO, CINCEUR, THURSTON AND WEST.

ATMOSPHERE PESSIMISM AND QUESTIONING AS TO WHAT CAN BE DONE,
 OR WHETHER ANYTHING CAN BE DONE TO MAINTAIN STATUS QUO IN
 BERLIN OVER LONG TERM PERVADES BUNDESTAG FOLLOWING PUBLICATION
 SUMMARIES OF SOVIET NOTES. FEW IF ANY DEPUTIES HAVE READ
 FULL TEXT; AND NONE HAVE HAD TIME STUDY CAREFULLY EXACTLY
 WHAT SOVIET PROPOSAL IS. FOLLOWING SUMMARIZES PRELIMINARY AND
 TENTATIVE REACTIONS PARTIES AND INDIVIDUAL DEPUTIES WITH WHOM
 WE DISCUSSED NOTE TODAY:

ALL PARTIES HAVE PLEDGED PUBLICLY LOYAL SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM
 BERLIN AND CONSIDER IT APPROPRIATE THAT BERLIN OFFICIALS HAVE
 REACTED PROMPTLY IN DEFENSE STATUS CITY. AT SAME TIME THEY URGE
 FEDREP AND THREE POWERS THINK IT OVER VERY CAREFULLY BEFORE
 TAKING PUBLIC POSITION. BOTH CDU AND SPD MEMBERS FOREIGN
 AFFAIRS COMMITTEE SPECULATE SIX MONTH PERIOD MAY HAVE BEEN
 SOVIET SECOND THOUGHT IN FACE SHARP WEST REACTION TO KHRUSHCHEV
 NOVEMBER 10 SPEECH, AND DID NOT WANT POSSIBLE FURTHER SOVIET
 BACKING DOWN OBSTRUCTED BY ABRUPT REJECTION NEGOTIATIONS
 ALTHOUGH BASIS PROPOSED BY SOVIETS CLEARLY NOT SUITABLE.

KIESINGER (CDU, FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN) TOLD
 US BEST THING DO IS FOR WEST REMAIN ABSOLUTELY FIRM IN FACE
 SOVIET THREAT BERLIN, AND INDICATED THIS WAS GENERALLY CDU
 POSITION. RUSSIAN REFUSAL IN NOTE TO ACCEPT GERMAN NOVEMBER 17
 NOTE'S PROPOSAL TO DISCUSS REUNIFICATION INTER ALIA WAS EXACTLY
 WHAT HE HAD EXPECTED. RUSSIANS OBVIOUSLY ABSOLUTELY UNWILLING

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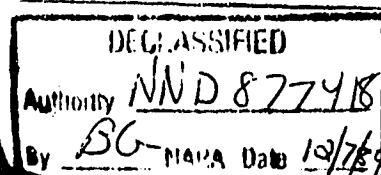
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TO CONSIDER REUNIFICATION ON ANY TERMS NOW OR FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE. WHY SHOULD THEY CRY. THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO GIVE ONE HAMMER BLOW AFTER ANOTHER AGAINST WHOLE WESTERN POSITION IN EUROPE LIKE THIS BLOW AT BERLIN. DOLLINGER (CSU) URGED THAT, WHILE REAFFIRMING HARD POSITION ON BERLIN, WEST SHOULD MAKE COUNTER PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON BROADER ASPECTS GERMAN PROBLEMS. GUTTENBERG (CSU) AGREEING WITH KIESINGER ON VITAL NECESSITY OF "HARD" WESTERN POLICY ON MAINTAINING BERLIN AND ACCESS TO BERLIN, SAID WEST AND FEDREP MUST BE PREPARED TO TAKE DRASTIC STEPS IF NECESSARY: ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND COUNTER MEASURES (IN WHICH FEDREP WOULD WILLINGLY PARTICIPATE); BREAK OFF OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH USSR AND EAST GENERALLY; USE OF FORCE ("SEND TANKS IN") IF NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN SURFACE ACCESS TO BERLIN. RUSSIA WOULD NOT GO TO WAR OVER THIS ISSUE IF NATO POWERS UNITED AND DEMONSTRATE THEIR WILLINGNESS TO FIGHT TO MAINTAIN UNHINDERED ACCESS BERLIN. IF WEST DOES NOT TAKE THIS CLEAR FIRM STAND, IT WILL ULTIMATELY MEAN LOSS BERLIN, FEDREP AND EUROPE.

POSITION OF SPD NOT SO CLEAR. THERE IS TENDENCY IN PARTY, IN CONTRAST TO CDU, TO FEEL IT WOULD NOT BE TOO BAD, IF AND WHEN SOVIETS TURN OVER THEIR BERLIN RIGHTS TO GDR, IF WESTERN POWERS SHOW TRANSIT PAPERS TO GDR OFFICIALS. (ON OTHER HAND WEHNER IS REPORTED TO HAVE TAKEN LINE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE THAT WEST SHOULD BE HARD ON THIS ISSUE.) MOMMER SUGGESTED WESTERN RESPONSE MIGHT BE PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON REUNIFICATION WHICH WAS REAL SOLUTION FOR BERLIN PROBLEM. MERTEN (VICE-CHAIRMAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE SPD) MOST PESSIMISTIC AND SAID: BERLIN GEOGRAPHICALLY LIES UNDER SOVIET CONTROL. THERE IS NOTHING SHORT OF WILLINGNESS TO GO TO WAR TO PREVENT EVER MORE FORCEFUL SOVIET BLACKMAIL OF FEDREP AND WEST BY STEADILY INCREASING PRESSURE ON BERLIN; AND NO ONE IS WILLING FACE PROSPECT OF WAR. THEREFORE, BEST OUTCOME TO BE HOPED FOR IN LONG RUN IS NEGOTIATION OF PEACE TREATY WITH TWO GERMANIES, INCLUDING FORMAL PROVISION OF GUARANTEED FEDREP ACCESS TO BERLIN.

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DISCUSSING FDP ATTITUDE, KIESINGER (CDU) TOLD US IT WAS DANGEROUSLY SOFT; FDP TAKING LINE THERE SHOULD NOW BE FOUR POWER NEGOTIATION PEACE TREATY, WITH BOTH FEDREP AND GDR PARTICIPATING. STEPHAN, FDP BUSINESS MANAGER, CONFIRMED THAT FDP POSITION IS: THERE SHOULD NOW BE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIETS ABOUT BOTH BERLIN AND PEACE TREATY, DESPITE SOVIET REJECTION REUNIFICATION NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS NO USE TALKING ONLY ABOUT BERLIN, SINCE THAT WOULD SETTLE NOTHING; AND RUSSIANS ARE ALSO MORE INTERESTED IN BROADER SETTLEMENT INCLUDING BERLIN THAN IN BERLIN ITSELF. IN COURSE OF PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS REUNIFICATION AGREEMENT COULD BE WORKED OUT, IF ONLY BECAUSE THERE MUST BE A GERMANY TO SIGN PEACE TREATY. IN ANY CASE THERE IS NO HARM IN PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS; IF RUSSIANS IN END REFUSE NEGOTIATE ON REUNIFICATION ALSO, NEGOTIATIONS CAN ALWAYS BE BROKEN OFF.

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